I: Tittev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[70]

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the house for as long as a year.[71] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *hüru-mapu* ("foreland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenu-mapu*; or underground, *minche-mapu*; or across the sea, *w'ente'-q'lem*, or *kurka'-q'lem*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *rewé* with which they were formerly associated.[72]

[70] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 102.

[71] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama.

[72] Hosse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4 References

24? repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877-78, 1:288, 498)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether 24? they practiced any agriculture in Marino de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no existen de sembrar" (1:498), and "cogen sus trigos y cebadas [Basques? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] son abundancia las Pagtocolos, aunque son pocos labradores y son muy pocos que siembran su contentos" (1:199). Pietas (1648, pp. 488, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

94 The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1648, p. 490).

38? Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877-78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snow-25?2 shoes made of "cañas" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *One* one.

232 Each *Poluenche*, according to Rosales (1877-78, 1:197; see also 421 Pietas, 1648, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather pinons in a given district—hold, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards held their own vineyards.

● 171 In the middle of the 16th century, the culture of the "*Poluenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1648, p. 490) that the "*Poluenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche*; for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Puelenche* of Rosales and of the pinon-eating mountaineers of Marino de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other unreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 666; on the *Pehuenche*, page 710; on the *Argentine Araucanians*, pages 743-746; and on the *Poluenche*, page 780.

19: Kilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told 805
it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husband's. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Cañaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This granddchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one counting the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Arapaho custom. [171]

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need 821
at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but must certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as felmewenuyei (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as nakümewenuyei.

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it [191]
is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pidell, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when sunny flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Pangipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather.

In one of the valleys in Cañaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Cañaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture. [776 178]

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a neo-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepin man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place." [775 177]

According to a Pangipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kuliuiwilu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.) 776 773

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kütralmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hellfire). According to schoolchildren the following are in kütralmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques- 775

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucaniana SC4
Argentina

SIZE OF FAMILIES

Children couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I know had no children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly." 163

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that meant it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that." 843 [174]

Some believe there is a flying snake that children pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Arapaho (Hilger, 1952, pp. xii-xiii); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be reared, generally a grandchild. [174]

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trumpul 842

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Accession SC4
Argentina

842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening to remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

892 787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

BIRTH

795 845 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PERINATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

893 262 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One women will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

845 784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

[illegible]

placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two women, and they might have lived." 395

[illegible]

The attending women then cut the umbilical cord with a thread and severs the cord beyond this. The cord is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the cord I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of saving the cord into a beaded bag (Bilgoe, 1952, pp. 60-63) still remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the well. 394 [illegible]

[illegible]

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was given a decoction of finely powdered root of ajito boiled in chicken (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the well within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse. 278

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

[illegible]

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today sulfa drug is used. 946

R.F'aron E-9 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[24] ...ther well-documented history, and to the ...s known about their contemporary way of ...eral years to do field work among the Ma- [25] ...Chile, I became acquainted with Professor ...ucanian Culture in Transition, and also ...ation and personal encouragement from ...me during the initial phase of field work, [14] ...opportunity to express my gratitude. I dis- [17] ...tiev's interpretations and conclusions, but ...t to which his own work facilitated mine. ...d Father John Cooper's summary of the ...most widely known professional studies of ...t them will help clarify my own position, ...t held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev ...s a changing *culture* ("society" being in- ...oper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote ...rtually indistinguishable from the poorer ...in their vicinity" (1951:36). Cooper made ...culture in the central zone . . . remained ...ard the end of the 19th century, and much ...:697). I believe each of these opposed state- ...cts.

...e result of casual inspection of some of the ...al aspects of provincial life. The most ob- [11] ...rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in ...hich, by and large, reflect retarded agricul- ...poverty. Titiev himself noted differences ...hip, and marriage, events in the life cycle, ...sence of a structural analysis of Mapuche ...s seem always to imply simply that Ma- ...more and more to approximate Chilean ...th to this that the statement is overwhelm- ...tion and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, ...s a blur, rapidly moving in the direction ...peasant society. This emphasis has serious [10] ...mechanisms which make Mapuche society ...ty presently structured on a more complex ...ation era, are either overlooked or misin- ...vn." In this regard I have only to cite Ti- ...a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chilean," do not feel that lineality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

14: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

Four SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

This chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent anticipatorily but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: Marshalling the *Forces of Good*

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the body of *kolicu*, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

In Bolivian--140 B-6 (1938) 1851 GP10 Chiriguano GP10
Chavante 540
Bororo-Coroados 1640
Tupi-Guarani 1644

/XIV/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C
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The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Snow-Mine) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here / where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /XIV/ I saw at Caiyipendi had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Ouichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Chorotí have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 5, Fig. 31, p. 69) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Ouichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimens pictured here.

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Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C
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[199]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.140 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-156).

T-G
[412]
184

Z: Mustoe T-S (1869-1870)1873
3365 Tehuelche
Araucanians 569

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a
more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and
appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but
Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gregorio, strongly
insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 345
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonies on occasions 332
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 771
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quichishni's niece was sick, her brother assumed 785
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a headdress of feathers. Instead of a mantill tent, a screen of ponchos hung over poals was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 795
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 254
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782.
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it